

# Social Questions

## BULLETIN

of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, a membership organization which seeks to deepen within the Church the sense of social obligation and opportunity to study, from the Christian point of view, social problems and their solution; and to promote social action in the spirit of Jesus. The Federation rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic base for society and seeks to replace it with social-economic planning to develop a society without class or group discriminations and privileges.

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### An Evaluation of Civilian Public Service

CARL D. SOULE \*

At the present time there are only 150 men or less in Civilian Public Service. There are no Methodists among these. Nor are there any Methodists in prison for conscience' sake. With the suspension of inductions under Selective Service and the expected termination of the law itself, it is proper to take a look backward and evaluate the program of alternative service, established by law for the first time in American history. We have an academic interest in such retrospect and we also wish so clearly to evaluate the past that, if alternative service is continued in peacetime or reestablished in wartime, we shall be in agreement concerning its worth and features.

The thoughtful churchman must have been puzzled by the diverse interpretations of C. P. S. which came to him by way of the press, publications of service committees, and the expressions of the men themselves. In February, 1945, for example, *Time* spoke of C. O.'s in the Germfask camp as lazy, disorderly, rebellious trouble makers, but in July the same journal praised those who as "guinea pigs" were starving at Minneapolis. In the early years of C. P. S. General Hershey visited a soil reclamation camp and remarked concerning "the efficiency of operation, high morale, and group discipline." But an outstanding pacifist minister visited several camps during the winter of 1942-43 and came back with disillusionment in his heart and the expression on his tongue, "I should prefer to see my two sons in the armed forces, where there is discipline and some integration, than in C. P. S., where there is so much emphasis upon individual rights and so little upon responsibility to the group." In this article I do not wish to give statistics and history. These have been given and will be given in various publications. More important for the readers of the *Bulletin* is an evaluation of C. P. S.

#### *The Merits of Civilian Public Service*

The merits of C. P. S. may be listed as follows: (1) Men were given the basic freedom for which they and their churches asked, namely, exemption from military training, exemption from various forms of non-combatant service, exemption from the use of arms in combat, and an opportunity to perform alternative humanitarian services. This basic point should be kept firmly in mind, for if one does not do so his attention is apt to be sidetracked by secondary considerations. It is true that the men were obliged to register under the Selective Service law and were always distantly under the control of General Hershey; it is true that they were not given wages nor dependency allotments.

But they were completely exempted from military training, military duty, and the taking of life!

(2) Many forms of alternative service were offered to the men and many men voluntarily performed tasks, both menial and spectacular, of benefit to mankind. This is a fact so well known to readers of the *Bulletin* that it needs only to be summarized: Thousands worked in mental hospitals and training schools, spending nine to twelve hours a day on large wards where patients were mentally arrested, apathetic, or disturbed. Others were guinea pigs, submitting to lice, or living on hardtack and little water, or submitting to infection with jaundice or pneumonia or malaria. Many, descending by parachutes, fought forest fires. Altogether thirty men died in C. P. S. in the course of duty or by accident. In many cases a new spirit was injected into neglected areas of service. In an epileptic ward, for example, it was customary to have much noise and frequent gang fights, but during the two years in which the ward was manned by C. O.'s the noise diminished greatly and the fights ceased.

(3) The participation of the historic peace churches in the program was of immeasurable benefit to the men and to the nation. This is a fact which is not so well known and has been obscured by discussions relating to finance. The oldest peace church, the Mennonite, stated its objectives for C. P. S. in this fashion:

"Our church organizes and administers C. P. S. camps and projects as Christian communities in which fellowship and worship, the preaching of the Gospel, the studying of the Word of God, and earnest Christian living are normal and basic experiences. It holds that the same high standard of Christian living must be expected in C. P. S. as is expected in the home community, church, and family. It accordingly assumes responsibility for a Christian pastoral ministry and for the cultivation and maintenance of Christian ethical standards among the men under its administration as well as for the provision of a profitable and enriching Christian educational and recreational program."

Not all the service committees phrased their objectives in this way, but all had the same substance in their purposes and programs.

Did these ideals become realities? To a very large extent in some camps, to a moderate extent in others, and to a slight extent in still others. However, in the three government camps there was no such purpose and very little practice. The government considered that its duty was ful-

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filled when it supplied the men with work, food, and clothing. Direction of their lives through religious services, education, and recreation was beyond Selective Service's purpose. It is my judgment that if the government had had sole administration of the camps, so much dissatisfaction would have arisen that church participation would have been considered a very desirable remedy!

If one would understand the spiritual vitality of some units, he should note that in one mental hospital group the following statistics applied to a period of six months: There were held 4 general meetings, 54 religious programs, 18 educational classes, 48 recreational events, 24 voluntary trips through wards with books, 31 emergency blood transfusions, 26 issues of a news bulletin, and 18 chorus meetings. 384 books of the following classification were read: 147 fiction, 81 non-fiction, 80 on mental health, and 14 on marriage and the home. During that period the 100 men in the unit, receiving \$15 a month, contributed \$670.00 toward relief and welfare work.

However, church participation in administration manifested itself in larger ways, especially as it was coordinated in the National Service Board. At first all C. O.'s were in former C. C. C. camps, in the woods or on the farm, but continuous negotiation with government officials resulted in a dynamic trend toward specialized service in hospitals and laboratories. It was church administration that caused men to be trained for relief in China, that set up the splendid project in Puerto Rico, that "cultivated" the starvation unit until it became a reality. It was the head of the Brethren Service Committee who skillfully established through alertness and negotiation the sea-going cowboy unit which escorted so many horses and cows to Europe in 1945 and 1946. The Mental Health Program was nourished in infancy by the church bodies.

At times, by reason of service committee planning, whole units were given over to the study of cooperatives, labor relations, and racial problems. Some months ago, in a meeting held to evaluate C. P. S. and determine its future course, the head of one of the service committees remarked, "My church has always considered that it was a privilege to share in the administration of C. P. S. We have no regrets, despite the expense involved." Two of the three service committees administer the last few units and continue the services of the National Service Board.

(4) *C. P. S. gave many men experiences of great religious value.* The existence of many denominations and the variety of cultural backgrounds in C. P. S. made unity of camp life very difficult. But even as in the army, it had the virtue of causing many men to have broader understandings and sympathies. Denominational lines dimmed for Protestants. Because of C. P. S. the many Mennonite communions are closer together than they were before the war. Interracial understanding has increased. Many men changed the vocational trend of their lives, choosing life service in the field of mental health, or the cooperative movement, or organized religion. About one-tenth of the men in C. P. S. and one-tenth of the Methodists therein are preparing themselves for or have entered full time religious work.

#### *Defects of Civilian Public Service*

In 1940 there was a handful of men who refused to register, asserting that they could have no traffic with conscription in any form. This point of view increased in popularity as the war progressed, so that over a hundred men walked out of C. P. S. The American Congress would do well to imitate the English in their granting of complete exemption to such absolutists.

There are those who would eliminate all alternative service, asserting that a Christian should reject any form of conscription and make the clear witness of going to prison. This is unsatisfactory both from a democratic and Christian point of view. If, as a result of our failure to create faith in the minds of men and to give justice through international

organization, by democratic processes a majority desires conscription for military purposes, we may properly ask for exemption from militarism for C. O.'s but hardly from some form of peaceful service. Alternative service under law is more in keeping with the New Testament idea of respect for both God and Caesar than the complete rejection of the same.

With some truth it has been asserted that the historic peace churches understood that they were to have full administration of C. P. S., whereas they soon found that they were paying all the bills and Selective Service was calling all the tunes! General Hershey and Colonel Kosch became ogres and the same character was attributed to acquiescent church administrators. It surely would have been better, if the churches had had more power to set up new units and to transfer men in and out of them. There was much needless frustration at this point. But it must be kept in mind that Selective Service officials stood between a critical non-pacifist public and the sympathetic peace churches. In order to make the C. P. S. program popularly acceptable, the government believed that it needed to keep the camps under close supervision, to establish working hours, living conditions, and furlough privileges similar to those of the armed forces. Otherwise, the existence of C. P. S. might have been jeopardized. Some of the regulations concerning orderliness and an honest day's work should have been unnecessary, for they are as much a part of the Christian tradition as of the military.

The third defect of C. P. S. was the economic one. Practically everyone now recognizes that the men should have been paid a minimum wage for their labor. After men, some of them married with children, had been living on \$5.00 a month for five years, they were tempted to become as indignant as the soldier who read of the wages of civilians in war plants. Undoubtedly, in any future C. P. S. program wages will be paid. However, wages for C. O.'s must be seen as part of the whole picture of warfare. On a practical basis, is not the loss of income for five years in C. P. S. preferable to the loss of health for a lifetime in military service? On an idealistic basis, if the choice were necessary, would not C. O.'s prefer poverty to the taking of life in brutal warfare?

At the Seattle meeting last December the Federal Council of Churches expressed commonly accepted recommendations for the future: use of men by welfare and religious organizations, permission to do relief work abroad, administration by a civilian agency, payment of wages to the men by the government, dependency allowances, and accident insurance.

#### *Spiritual Problems in Civilian Public Service*

One of the most interesting aspects of C. P. S. was the way in which it placed the pacifist and the liberal Christian under a spotlight. It tended to throw into sharp relief the strengths and weaknesses of exponents of the social gospel. We should like to speak of the problems thus posed, not with a spirit of condemnation but to stimulate thought and confession on the part of all of us.

(1) *How can one be loyal to the Absolute and at the same time have vital fellowship with his fellow men?* The C. O. is a man who knows what it is to obey God rather than man. His ability to resist social and national pressures is the stuff of which martyrs are made. Men have gone into C. P. S. against the entreaties of parents, the advice of ministers, and the tenderly persuasive powers of their fiancées. Many Christians would be better Christians, if they had more of this firm adherence to truth and God.

But this trait also has its dangers. Absolute loyalty to truth without humility and a sense of proportion may result in such excessive individualism that one can scarcely be lived with. For example, one man resisted war and went to C. P. S. In C. P. S. he resisted conscription and church administration and went to prison. In prison he refused to

move or eat. Out of prison he felt unable to join any church or peace organization. In some C. P. S. camps no one religious service brought a majority of the men together: the Quakers preferred silence, the Methodists preaching, the Witnesses Bible study, the Episcopalian evening prayers, and some the "voice of God in nature." On the national level the National Service Board was unable to keep its ranks intact during the war period, since two peace organizations and several church bodies withdrew out of loyalty to God's will as they understood it. How efficiently would the affairs of national government or of the United Nations be managed, if the representatives therein were men from C. P. S.? Some C. P. S. veterans would be very effective.

There is no room for pride here by the non-pacifist. Every minister faces this problem in relation to his people. Every denomination faces this problem in relation to other bodies. It is one of the hardest things in statecraft to adhere to truth and yet be conciliatory in spirit. When Georgia Harkness returned from Madras in 1939, she expressed the problem in these words, "To work together with persons of equally strong but differing convictions for the expression of Christian truth in unanimity without compromise is an experience as difficult as it is creative."

(2) *How can one be vigorously critical of evils in institutions and persons and yet be so constructive in his attitude and personality that if he were given the same responsibility he would do a better job?* Like Amos in Samaria the C. O.'s sharp insight laid bare the shortcomings of modern life—international affairs, economic life, race, prisons, churches, cities, and government services. The C. O. was alert to evil everywhere. A thimbleful of his insights in a large glass of water would make strong drink for most Methodists.

We hope that the demobilized C. O.'s will be able to rebuild constructively those areas of life in which they see truly so much error. Already the cooperative movement has been strengthened by their presence. We hope that Corbett Bishop may some day be an administrative officer in church or state. Perhaps Roger Axford will some day sit in the chair of the attorney general instead of on the steps of the halls of justice. Some of the men will be pastors and will face the very real problem of how to supplant a poor bridge by a good one and yet keep the traffic moving!

(3) *How can one give proper place in his thoughts and actions to a Christian concern and yet not neglect other issues of importance?* There was one thing which united men in C. P. S., namely, opposition to war. At that point they had done much reading and thinking. They knew the roots of war, as they spread themselves out in the soil of human thoughts and institutions. The world is so much in need of a permanent and just peace that many such apostles may properly wander up and down the face of the earth challenging the worship of idols.

But it is hard for such specialists in ethics to be well rounded Christians. The men in C. P. S. were as apt to have inward conflicts and emotional instability as the men who served in the army. A few men drank alcoholic beverages on the basis of their scale of evils. Some had low standards of labor. A few had marital troubles. To some religion was purely ethics; faith and theology were neglected.

It was one of the problems of administrators of C. P. S., as it is the problem of every minister (personally and as a pastor), to cultivate symmetrical growth in the spiritual life of the men. An editorial in a camp paper said, "It would be well, if we exercised our exceptionally sensitive consciences in order that we might give a more consistent testimony of the Christ-like life."

(4) *How can we give men opportunity for individual initiative and yet exercise sufficient external discipline to support the weak and achieve an integrated program?* In their administration of C. P. S. the Friends acted upon their long established principle of freedom for the individual.

While they desired high standards of camp life, because of their religious doctrine and the variety of persons in their units, they used disciplinary measures with great reluctance. The result was an increasing amount of individual expression. Unity was obtainable at the dinner and supper table, but at few other points. It was in the Friends' camps where the work strikes took place. My judgment is that Quaker thought and practice is ideal for a voluntary association of men of high ideals and cultural attainments, but has questionable application to the government of a general sampling of the population.

In contrast to this position was the administration of the Mennonites. In theology and church practice they took a darker view of human nature. They were inclined to consider a man a sinner until he proved himself to be a saint. They gave men liberty and freedom within limitations. They expected all men to be at the breakfast table on time, to pause for an expression of thanks, to do a good day's work on project, to attend at least one of the Sunday services, and to cooperate with the rules of Selective Service. An interesting illustration of the loyalty of Mennonite churches to men in such camps was their payment of \$5, \$10, or \$15 to a demobilized C. O. for each month spent in C. P. S. Because of its tradition of Wesleyan discipline and episcopal government, Methodism stands close to Mennonite practice.

Herein lies a parable for all liberals and reformers. If a proper balance is not maintained between freedom and discipline, one faces either the disaster of disorder and anarchy or the disaster of autocracy. Both disasters are contemporary possibilities in America and in the world.

#### *The Future of Conscientious Objection*

After the first World War there was a widespread and wholesome reaction against mass slaughter. The Commission on World Peace was established; annual conferences and youth institutes condemned war and talked of peace. Therefore, there were more Methodists than Friends in C. P. S. After World War II there will continue to be pacifists, especially because of the hollowness of any victory achieved by atomic weapons.

It is significant, however, that after the recent war there is not so much of a mass acceptance of pacifism as there is a vigorous cooperation among all peace lovers to use present opportunities to keep the peace. In sincere support of the United Nations, movements looking toward world government, economic democracy, racial equality, the church, and the World Council of Churches, all of us need to stand shoulder to shoulder. In the Christian faith and in peaceful endeavors pacifists and non-pacifists have so much in common that they can ill afford to magnify their differences. While the attainment of world peace will be greatly helped by the testimony of the conscientious objector, its achievement will depend upon a united and strong Christian front. After all, world peace is what the C. O. wants and its presence in the world will perfectly solve all problems relating to alternative service.



"I never mention Herod in my Christmas sermon, it depresses people so."

# Is Tax Destruction of the Co-ops on the Way?

WILLIAM G. LAW \*

Many of the county papers in the farm belt have been running an ad recently which shows a row of stores on a business street. The stores are exactly alike, save for the one labeled "co-op." All the other stores are labeled "taxpayer," but the co-op store is not.

The ad was paid for by the Minnesota Small Business and Employees' Committee, which undoubtedly has some tie-up with the National Tax Equality Association, of which the head of one of the largest grain elevator companies in the nation is president. This big-business-with-a-small-business-front attack on the co-ops reflects the latter's growth, and the irksomeness of their competition. Rep. Wright Patman has gone as far as to charge that what is sought is not tax equality, but punitive taxation aimed at crippling the whole co-op movement. "This," he says, "is a fight to kill."

To keep the record straight, co-ops pay every tax that a business corporation organized on a profit basis pays, save the corporate income tax. They are classed with all business concerns organized as proprietorships or partnerships as regards that tax. The NTEA claims that from an economic and competitive point of view they belong in the class of corporations, and should be taxed as such.

Undoubtedly the co-ops, taken together, do belong with the larger corporations as a competitive factor. The Farmers Union Grain Terminal Association of So. St. Paul, for example, earned two million dollars last year, which may explain why the president of International Elevator Co. of Minneapolis, became president of NTEA. But there is a basic difference between the two firms, and it lies in what they do with their earnings.

The earnings of the Farmer's Union Co-op were returned to the members in the form of preferred stock. In other years the earnings are returned as cash patronage dividends. The co-ops claim that these earnings are not profits as such, but money left over after the business of marketing the farmer's grain was done at cost. It might be explained this way: if a group of farmers hire a man in town to market their produce throughout the year, and tell him to hold back some of the returns to pay for sacks until they settle up at the end of the year, that is certainly not a profit when it is paid. It is money that belonged to the farmers all the time. Of course they will have to pay income taxes on it as individuals, but there is no justice in making the man who did the marketing pay a tax on it before he turns it back to them.

The essential difference between a corporation organized for profit and a co-op is the difference between profits and savings. If Tom, Dick and Harry want to do their business together and for themselves there is no reason why they should not, provided they can make it go. If they can, it is their business. They are not making a profit out of doing someone else's business. If a man wants to drive his own car instead of taking a taxi there is no reason why he should not. And if he can save money that way there is no reason why he should be taxed on the savings.

The NTEA is also concerned over the federal legislation making credit available to co-ops at a low rate of interest, blithely ignoring the RFC and all the other credit agencies. It has been suggested to the organization that if it thinks tax and credit inequalities exist it might better seek freedom for the businesses now unfairly treated, instead of seeking to cripple the co-ops. Such suggestions have been flatly rejected. The St. Paul Pioneer Press, a paper not in the vanguard of liberalism, editorialized on this rejection in this wise: "Never before has the purpose of tax destruction or injury of the co-operatives been uncovered so com-

pletely by the NTEA. Publicly, the organization has professed to love the co-ops. . . . Even now, its real purpose scarcely will be left exposed very long and ardent, public professions of endearment for the co-ops are to be expected soon from the NTEA."

Congressman Patman stated on the floor of Congress that he had been forced to conclude that the men behind the NTEA are actually a group of professional lobbyists, capitalizing on the fear of co-op competition felt by some large business men, and using their funds for "scaring a lot of people for the main purpose of building a large organization and collecting a lot of money. . . ." The Congressman laments the fact that the money so collected is itself exempt from income taxation!

In recent weeks the base of the anti-co-op movement has been broadened. Income of labor unions has been singled out as a tax source, and the small business man pictured as groaning under an oppressive weight of taxation—which he undoubtedly is—while the vast incomes of the unions go tax free. Mutual insurance companies have become a high priority target. It must be granted that they are somewhat vulnerable because of the high salaries paid some of their executives. Several of the largest mutuals are flagrant examples of this abuse.

Many thinking people consider the NTEA attack on co-ops to be a disguised attack on small business itself. Co-ops are both big business and small business, but in either case they have one important quality of small business everywhere; they are close to the grass roots. Small business needs all the help it can get. The way the program of the NTEA shapes up it isn't going to get it. All that will happen will be the placing of the co-ops deeper in the same disadvantageous position all small business has struggled under increasingly in recent years.

An evidence of the way small business is being sold down the river is the sharp attack made upon the House Committee on Small Business of the 79th Congress. With seare headlines the NTEA wrote various associations of small merchants, telling them that the House Committee had acted against their interests, and soliciting their funds to bring it into line. Actually, the committee had recommended that the co-op tax structure be left undisturbed, but that if any business, corporation or other, was found to be suffering from double taxation it should be relieved. It further recommended that steps be taken to prevent the accumulation by co-ops of unnecessarily large tax-free reserves. Such a program is not what the NTEA has in mind.

If the time should come when the NTEA was able to put into effect its crippling devices, the co-ops would retaliate by selling at a cost level, instead of at a market level as at present. In that way the patronage return would be made to members on each purchase, instead of annually as dividends. The spectre of such competition ought to deter the NTEA.

Although the co-ops do only a small percentage of the nations business at present, they wield a potent influence. They are a very successful means of combating monopolistic combinations. Some of them have become large enough to influence substantially both the market price and the return to the producer. In one section, the upper mid-west, the whole sad tale of the use of the farmers by the middle-men is being substantially altered by such co-op firms as Land O'Lakes Creameries, doing a 70 million dollar business in 13 states; the Central Co-operative Association, which sold two million head of cattle last year for 66 million dollars, and the Farmers Union Grain Terminal Association, which handled 129 million bushels of grain.

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## tarnished saints?

Kagawa, Niemoller, Chiang Kai-shek, and now John Foster Dulles.

It is disconcerting, to point to certain Christians as examples of light shining in darkness, and then to be confronted with evidence that each of these children of light is actually in league with the powers of darkness. Probably no three world-Christians have been more quoted from than Kagawa, Niemoller, and Chiang. And probably all the evidence on these men is not yet in.

But such evidence as is in seems to indicate that all three are considerably tarnished, if not with fascism, at least with a type of nationalism that is inconsistent with the evangelical Christian ideal. (Perhaps we should all be a little humble on this score.) Kagawa apparently accepted an official post in the Philippines from the Japanese government and made anti-American and anti-democratic speeches. Niemoller went to prison for conscience sake, but he offered to serve in the Nazi navy and never seems to have questioned the political morality of the Hitler regime; only when the confessional church was attacked did he react against Nazism, not when it exalted the state, persecuted its minorities, smashed the labor unions, invaded its neighbors. And Chiang Kai-shek, while he undoubtedly follows a daily regimen of prayer and meditation, does not seem to find any inconsistency between his professed Christianity and the totalitarianism of the police state which he heads—a totalitarianism whose venality and corruption is unmatched in modern history. Speaking of China, even such a conservative "old China hand" as Dr. Nathaniel Peffer of Columbia University said recently that not another nickel should be given or lent by the United States to Nationalist China, for it would not be used to bolster Chinese currency or lighten the burden of the peasantry but would be squandered in bribery, "squeeze", and continued civil war.

And now, to fill the cup of woe to the brim, comes evidence that John Foster Dulles, the great white hope of American Protestantism, the chairman of the Federal Council's Commission on the Basis of a Just and Durable Peace, is not fit to chair the Commission.

Why? Because his recent speeches on trusteeships and the revival of German industry are reactionary and imperialistic (even the arch-Republican *Philadelphia Inquirer* characterized the trusteeship speech as "as bad as anything Lord North ever said.")

But more important than that, the evidence is now pretty conclusive that Dulles' law firm, Sullivan and Cromwell, represented the German cartels in this country from the time of the First World War on, that the firm invested funds of which it was trustee in German rearmament (in violation of the Treaty of Versailles), that it represented not only Nazi interests but also those of Franco and the Spanish industrialists and was active in the solicitation of loans from American sources to bolster the sagging economies of both Spain and Germany.

All these things, we understand, are defended by Dulles on the grounds that a lawyer may not choose his clients and that even criminals are entitled to legal counsel under our laws. To this specious defense the answer is that while a lawyer has the right to defend even a guilty client, he does not have the right to abet him in his crimes, which is what the firm of Sullivan and Cromwell did when it conspired with German industry to circumvent the Treaty of Versailles and build a war economy for the Reich.

Is there any connection between all this and the fact that Dulles has recently come out (again!) for a revived German industry coordinated with the economy of the "Western bloc"?

Who knows?

When charges like the above are made by biased and irresponsible sources like "The Protestant", they can be

ignored. But when a man like Dr. Mark Dawber, Executive Secretary of the Home Missions Council of North America, resigns from the Federal Council Commission on the Basis of a Just and Durable Peace as a protest against Dulles' continued chairmanship of that commission and states—after long conversations with Dulles himself—that Dulles is "the most dangerous man in America as far as peace is concerned", it is another matter.

Moreover, a former Professor of International Law who has just returned from a tour of duty as Economic Advisor to the Allied Military Government in Germany, and as such was charged with the identification and arrest of many Nazi industrialists, recently told a small group in New York that the greatest obstacle to the jailing (and keeping in jail) of the German industrialists was the intervention in their behalf on the part of the firm of Sullivan and Cromwell and other American and British financial interests whose argument was invariably "But this fellow shouldn't be in jail—he's just like us! All he did was stay in business. He hasn't committed any crime."

And so it goes.

On at least two of these tarnished saints we are willing to withhold full judgment until more evidence is in—Kagawa and Niemoller. In spite of everything, we still have a lot of respect for them. Chiang, although pretty far gone, could still redeem himself before the bar of Christian conscience. John Foster Dulles is, by his own lights, honestly Christian. Of his personal integrity we have not the slightest doubt.

He is dangerous precisely because he is both able and honest. He is a victim of that fatal schizophrenia that separates man's practice from his profession and that sees no inconsistency in a practice that is at every point diametrically opposed to the ideals by which he professes to live. The fact that it was possible to rebuild Germany and create Hitlerism entirely within the framework of the socio-political-ethical system of which western Christianity is also a part does not mean that such action was morally blameless. It does mean that not only the action (rebuilding Germany) but the whole framework within which it took place is subject to judgment. That the pattern permitted the rebuilding does not justify the rebuilding—it condemns the pattern.

That, apparently, is what Mr. Dulles cannot see.

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### BULLETIN

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# Behind the Headlines

## Our Policy toward the Soviet Union

All the world knows that a sharp change in our policy toward the Soviet Union occurred soon after the death of President Roosevelt. The politicians and the newspapers call it "getting tough." Mr. Byrnes, who carried out the change under strong political pressure, prefers "firmness with patience." Both these terms register only the change in attitude—from reasonable search for agreement to adolescent bullying. This change however fits and reflects the pursuit of other objectives.

Roosevelt's objective in our relations with the Soviet Union was democratic advance, political and economic, throughout the world. By the admissions of its chief architects the primary aim of our present policy is to stop Soviet expansion. Churchill, and his collaborators here, drew a line from Stettin to Trieste; on one side the Anglo-American sphere of influence, on the other side that of the Soviet. Thus far and no farther was the word. The same objective appears in our policy in China, Japan, Korea and the Pacific Islands.

In pursuit of its aims the "get tough" diplomacy capitalizes the twenty odd years of lying about the Soviet Union by most of the press. To this is added a flood of propaganda turned loose by the increasingly monopolist control of the means of communication beyond anything the world has yet seen. In contrast to its distortions of Soviet character and aims it presents us in the role of saving the weaker liberated nations from communist domination. This makes it time to recall an historic trend we were warned against after World War I—the tendency of victors to take on some of the characteristics of the vanquished. Have we forgotten that Hitler built up his power, and got aid from some of our industrialists, by the plea of saving the world from Bolshevism?

The positive aim of our present policy, concealed by the fighting appeal of getting tough in stopping Soviet expansion, is the extension of our investment areas. Behind the personalities and professions is the driving force of a world changing fact. World War I transformed the U.S. from a debtor to a creditor nation. World War II gave us the financial hegemony of the world and made Britain our junior partner. The war profits of our corporations after taxes, were roughly 52 billions. About half of that is now held in reserve against contingent liabilities and expansion, the other half has been distributed. Allow 6 billions for luxury expenditures and there are some 20 billions of paper claims to income seeking investments to turn them into reality. Add to this a similar proportion of present unprecedented profits. Then consider the new plant our big basic producers got free and clear out of wartime profits by their initial sit down strike until they bludgeoned Congress into the tax and amortization program they wanted. Now you have a glimpse of the power behind the change in our policy toward the Soviet Union.

This pile of claims to income, seeking investment, contains the force that runs counter to the principles of the Atlantic and United Nations Charters and to the course agreed upon at Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam. This is the force that is causing the imperialist elements in our capitalist society to prevail over the democratic elements. This imperialist craving makes the "body of this death" to which we are tied in the dual nature of our capitalist democracy. Soon after Pearl Harbor Sumner Welles said "The day of imperialism is ended." He meant the lust for territorial empire. Henry Wallace added "We must make an end of all imperialisms, political and economic." He forgot the ecclesiastical empire seekers. Now we are taking the same road, at point after point, with Great Britain and the Vatican. Our diplomats trying to play the financial dictator to Europe and Asia!

Our financiers, industrialists, publishers, dreaming of the greatest economic empire ever fashioned! Endeavoring to create the American Century instead of the Century of the Common Man!

The consequences of this policy are already obvious. It brings us into conflict, instead of agreement, with the Soviet Union. There have not been in the past, and need not be in the future, any serious difficulties about trade on a reciprocal basis with resulting mutual benefits. But there are plenty arising from our present type of investment expansion into areas that border on the Soviet Union—the Balkans, China, Iran. Defending our economic policies for the Danube Valley Vandenberg said "We have no trade interests there." "But" said Molotov, "your 'freedom of economic opportunity' means that with the weight of your war profits you can soon own or dominate all the industries of those little countries." The menacing political results of our economic penetration he did not mention. They appear already in the occupied countries; in the community of social and financial interest between some of our officials and the financial supporters of anti-democratic reaction (they entertain superbly and they offer the prospect of profitable business); in the economic aid we give to anti-democratic forces and refuse to the "new democracies".

It is only in the democratic aspects of the life of both peoples that the possibility of friendship and cooperation for mutual aims between the US and the USSR exists. Differing forms of democracy, as the Federal Council insists, can find ways to adjust themselves to each other. But between imperialism territorial, economic, ecclesiastical—and the socialist democracy the Soviet peoples are developing and the rest of Europe with Great Britain are moving toward in their own ways, there is nothing but irreconcilable antagonism, except an uneasy truce. Consequently the crucial point, upon which further steps toward world peace depend, is whether we can reverse our present trend and bring the democratic elements in our society into dominance over the imperialist tendencies.

As long as investment expansion in terms of economic imperialism directs our foreign policy our preparations for war outweigh and at crucial points nullify our efforts to prevent it. Witness our positions on bases, China, disarmament. Why do we now have in the Mediterranean a fleet larger than all others combined. "To support our policies and protect our interests" says the Secretary of the Navy. What policies have we that require the support of force outside the United Nations? What interests to protect in the Mediterranean? My paper told me one morning that we had built a pipe line across Palestine. But reading further I found that was done by two of our oil companies. Another morning I was told that the British government had let our oil men in on their Anglo-Iranian oil and that involved another pipe line to the Mediterranean; then that the French government was complaining about a deal of our oil people in Saudi-Arabia; and again that it was an oil man our naval vessel carried at the tax payers' expense to Dairen and tried to land without a visa. So, trying to serve two masters, increasing our stockpile of bombs and uttering moral preachments, we not only fail to take the initiative required by our strength but actually obstruct progress toward disarmament and more democracy.

Our preparations for the "preventive war against the Soviet Union", our talk about it which has no counterpart there, check the further demobilization whose progress has been so misrepresented here and which the stricken Soviet land so sorely needs. At that the increase for education in the recent budget compared with the cut for the armed forces is unmatched elsewhere. For over twenty years I have

noted how democratic advance in the Soviet Union is checked by hostility without encouraging antagonistic remnants within. When that happens in any country repression clamps down. My teacher and long time friend Prof. George A. Coe, strong supporter of this organization, has just written in the Churchman: "Would you not like to be in Russia, and near to the Russian masses, when their newspapers and radios announce that the United States has unconditionally renounced the atomic bomb? Good deeds, done under difficulties, promptly and without bargaining, have a kind of power over men, and a degree of power, that are not dreamed of in your philosophy, O statesmen!"

One of the behaviour patterns of governments and parties which pursue a course contrary to accepted standards is to accuse their opponents of that kind of conduct. Goebbels was past master of that strategy. Martin Dies and his successors learned from him. So now our "get tough with Russia" politicians, our "preventive war" militarists, and our journalist empire builders, borrowing a phrase from the Vatican, are painting for us a fearsome picture of "Soviet imperialism", the new menace to our security. Some of us can remember the first portrait our press gave us of Russian communists after the revolution. Murderers of priests, destroyers of the family, confiscators of all private property! The present picture of the Soviet Union as another world conquering imperialism is no nearer the truth. Induced by the fear of economic change, it is designed to justify our preparation for war and to conceal our own imperialist expansion.

The Soviet government has its inescapable share of the original sin of nature. But that does not consist of the lust for empire, nor the desire to dominate other peoples. Its leaders started by renouncing the Czar's imperialist acquisitions and the peoples returned to Soviet fellowship by the war leave the Union still smaller than the former empire. It must be remembered that the essence of all forms of imperialism is economic tribute and that the Soviet system forbids the exploitation of labor. Consequently the Soviet Union has no profits to invest in other lands. One of the roots of imperialism is cut by its "ethnic democracy" which, for the first time in history, unites nationalities and races in equality of economic, cultural and social opportunity. Still another imperialist root is cut by Soviet cultural democracy which seeks equality of cultural development for all of the people and aims ultimately, by increasing control of nature, to remove the age long distinction between mental and physical labor. There remains, as always, the personal appetite for power. The Soviet system seeks to restrain and transform that by its teaching and training of youth and the universal custom of "self criticism." The besetting sin of socialist democracy is not the imperialism that now threatens the life of capitalist democracy; it is the bureaucracy that always appears in large scale organization. The possibility that this could lead to an imperialist concentration of power is progressively reduced by the constant warning of Soviet leadership against the danger of bureaucracy and the various practical devices that have been developed to overcome it.

The intangible factor in this whole situation is the consequences of the expansion of our investments, seeking all the returns the market will bear, and of the possible war which we are talking so much about and preparing so much for. Consequently it is at these points that the attention of this and similar religious groups should be concentrated. We are obligated by our basic principles to make certain moral demands of our government. And the keynote of our message is once again "Repent ye! For the Kingdom of God is at hand." Change your ways! For the possibility of world peace, the beginnings of a world order of justice and security are within your reach.

At what points do we want change?

We want our representatives in the United Nations to practice democracy instead of preaching it. Everything we

say about democracy is contradicted by our attitude of take it or leave it on the atomic bomb and bases. That is the talk of those who are drunk with pride of power, loosing "wild tongues that have not Thee in awe." And no amount of prayer will bring with us on that basis the Lord God of the hosts of righteousness, justice, peace and brotherhood. For our talk about democracy to have reality we must stop building up our power: stop our stockpiling of atomic bombs; stop demanding controls for the Dardanelles we will not permit for Panama; stop unilateral action in China; stop using our credit to enforce our views of politics and economics; stop investment expansion on lines contrary to those laid down in the Atlantic Charter and the Charter of the United Nations.

The beginning of this practice of democracy should be a democratic instead of a superiority attitude in our international relations. The world would begin to be changed if our representatives could talk as though they really believed in equality of opportunity for all peoples, in the equal sincerity with ours of the Soviet desire for peace. That is the minimum amount of trust in others necessary to secure reciprocity and mutuality. That is the ethical base of democracy laid down in our gospels. At this point we have a responsibility of our own. The U.S. representative on the Trusteeship Council in the recent U.N. sessions was a prominent and influential churchman, chairman of the Federal Council Commission on a Just and Durable Peace. Concerning his speech on colonial peoples' rights the correspondent of the conservative Republican *Philadelphia Inquirer* wrote: "Dulles sounded like Lord North of King George III's cabinet, or a small-time Richelieu. He brushed off the little people in a way that must have brought Woodrow Wilson upright in his crypt. He dismissed, with magnificent unconcern for Roosevelt's human rights principles and the Atlantic Charter, the hopes and desires of millions who have always looked to America for help." Add that on the issue of bases Mr. Dulles presented a policy completely contrary to the findings of all Protestant conferences and it becomes necessary for us to make it clear to the public that in his political capacity he does not represent the churches.

Especially do we want our spokesmen before the world to drop the cloak of self righteousness with which they now seek in vain to cover up our policies of power. The common people of Asia as well as those of Europe, Latin America and much of Africa can see what is behind our professions that we want only freedom of trade and communications. They know the rate of profit from investments in undeveloped countries if our church people do not. In succeeding to the financial overlordship of Great Britain we are also taking her position as the international Pharisee. Good persons, most of the Pharisees, the scholars tell us. But they lived by the mortgages on widows' houses and high profits in the market places. So their long prayers and the beautifully embroidered texts on the borders of their robes were of no avail. The publicans and sinners, because they knew they were sinners and could repent, went into the Kingdom of God before the Pharisees. And how many of the Pharisees escaped "the damnation of hell." That is the record and the international Pharisees, unless they drop their self righteousness, can only repeat it on a grander scale.

If our nation is to escape being dragged into the fate threatened by its discovery of the atomic secret and the means of biologic warfare before it had democratized its economic practice and theory we have to stop thinking that we have an exclusive patent on democracy and that its development ends with us. This is another form of the self righteousness that is the besetting sin of good people. The Federal Council Plan for Peace with Russia has a trace of it. It tends to assume that we have been divinely appointed to give the peoples of the earth the moral and spiritual leadership that will take them into the future. It is time to remember a great word of Paul, the converted

Pharisee, when he told the people of Lystra that God had not left himself without witness in all the nations. Time to remember also that the City of God is a cooperative venture from whose building none are excluded, in which all have their part to play. From East and West, North and South they come, all the races, all the nations, to fashion together for the first time a society which can grow together instead of splitting apart in mutual destruction, because it gives to all equal opportunity to develop all that is within each one.

\* \* \* \* \*

As this is written the administration agreement in principle to take over British financial commitments in Greece goes to Congress for decision. The moral pretenses behind which our foreign policy has been trying to conceal its objectives are now stripped off. The mouthpieces of its makers now tell us bluntly that we must support governments even though they are anti-democratic if they will oppose the expansion of Soviet influence. Almost hysterically they proclaim that it is now our responsibility alone to save not only Western Europe but Western civilization. But where this course leads neither those whose votes make the fateful decision, nor the people they are supposed to represent are told.

What happens to the strength and prestige of the United Nations when the United States asserts control over the Mediterranean to protect privately owned American oil our navy has contracted for in order to operate there in any possible war against the Soviet Union? When, instead of seeking an international solution for an area of conflict we take charge on the ground that we must see that no government comes in, which might grant air bases to the Soviet Union?

This fateful step has been taken for strategic reasons by the advice of the Joint General Staff, the Secretary of State who belongs to their family, and the Secretaries of War and Navy. It is a move in the undeclared war of nerves, preparations, financial and food pressures, we are waging allegedly against communism and the Soviet Union but actually against the development of economic democracy in Europe and Asia.

There is no place on this road where we can stop and it leads straight to a precipice. Every anti-Soviet government, no matter how anti-democratic has to be subsidized. The four billion we have poured down the sewer in China is only the beginning of what our present objectives will require. It was military commitments made for imperial purposes against the advice of the Treasury which were the last straw that broke the back of the British economy. And those we will be compelled to make by our present policy will in due time break the back of ours.

Our captains of finance who are jubilant over their succession to the British overlordship of world finance are in for a rude awakening. They are the heirs of debts and the holders of paper claims. The investment expansion which was to prevent this has been made unsafe in China by the civil war we made certain. The same thing we now propose to repeat in Europe. The load which this course will add to the debt structure created by two world wars shortens the time when it will crash through the paper which is now too large a part of our boasted wealth. Our present foreign policy can only hasten the world economic collapse which awaits a system that can neither consume nor constructively invest what it can produce.

There is a deeper reason why this policy is doomed in the end to defeat. We are trying to put the peoples of the earth into the mold of our monopolistic capitalism and it is too late now for that. A page of history has been turned, and once that is done no power can turn it back. The failure of the capitalist economy is written all over Europe and a large part of Asia. The socialist era of history has begun. We are trying to stop more than the Soviet Union.

We are endeavoring to halt the course of history. And that is something which cannot be done for long.

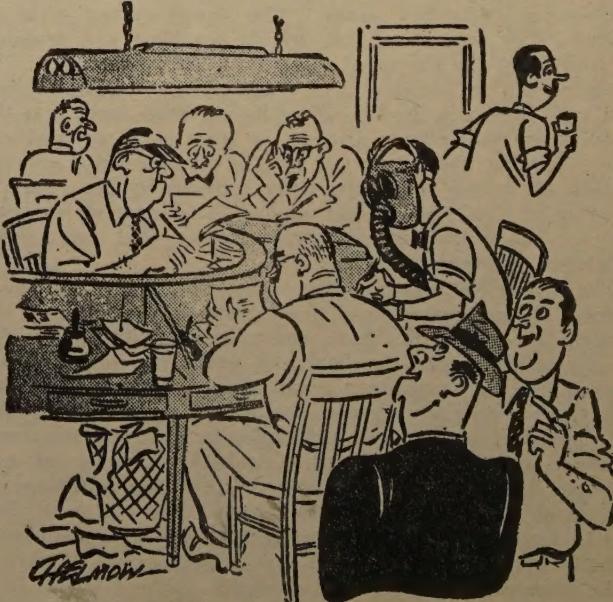
The tragedy of our effort is not merely that history will push us aside if we persist. It lies in the fact that for the first time in the history of man there has emerged a possibility of society moving to a stronger economic base without destroying much of the gains of the past in devastating revolutionary wars. All over the world the communists have recognized this new historic situation and have declared their willingness to join in the attempt. Our policy of supporting anti-communist governments will make it impossible to overcome the difficulties involved in that undertaking. If we persist, the moving finger that writes the record of man will put us down as bearing the heaviest responsibility for making the transition from capitalist to socialist society the most costly of the great upward steps that mankind has taken in its slow and devious course across the centuries.

H. F. W.

#### BROTHERHOOD OF MAN

The Brotherhood of Man is not a crowd of friendly humanitarians. The Beloved Community is not a picnic. The Kingdom of God is not a mere collection of good people who believe in the Gospel of Jesus Christ. It is an exceeding great army of skilful, disciplined, highly competent men and women; not a standing army either, but a marching one, always on the move, always advancing with a united front, with perfect order as the keynote of the advance. Yes, we peace-loving people, we war-haters, we Christians have a great deal to learn from armies. What a pity that all that skill and discipline and competence and courage should be used for the fighting purpose only. If only we could find a social equivalent for it: a human equivalent for it! How much bigger things we could attempt! How much sooner we should get them done! How much less there would be of rhetorical gammon and how much more of honest work! How far more fruitful our liberty would become! Liberty? Think you that liberty consists in freedom to get things said? Does it not consist much more in freedom to get them done?

—L. P. Jacks



"He doesn't like the editorial policy."

From the Guild Reporter

# Rural Social Action

ROGER ORTMAYER

## *Farmers and Surpluses*

The big worry of most agricultural producers is surpluses. They admit their favorable position during the war, but fear a future when too much wheat, or beef, or corn will drag prices down in an economy which puts a premium on scarcity. Rather sad experience has taught them what happens to agricultural products in days of plenty. That is why most of the major farm groups demand near parity support of prices by the government.

Parity is a complicated figure to arrive at because of the variables that have to be determined on many different products. Roughly it is a way of figuring what a farmer should receive for his produce if his buying power is equal to that of a certain favorable base period—usually the 1909-1914 years. The farmer wants a bushel of wheat to exchange for enough money to buy a certain amount of goods, no matter what the price may be.

Such farm organizations as the American Farm Bureau Federation and the National Grange desire that the federal government support prices somewhere near parity, and at the same time are willing to enter into some kind of crop restriction program when it looks as if there will be a surplus.

The only trouble is that in the world of today there is no such thing as a surplus. The world can consume all of the food that the farmers can produce. The problem lies not in surpluses, but in distribution. At the time of this writing grapefruit are rotting in Arizona and Florida. But there are many people that consider grapefruit a luxury, the price to them being prohibitive. Some citrus farmers are now being offered 20¢ a box for that commodity. But it is a long reach from the price offered and the price they are selling for to the consumer.

It is not a surplus of fruit that is at the base of the difficulty. It is a system which refuses to distribute a product without its accustomed profit. The farmer, the agricultural producer, takes the loss. Government price-peggng and subsidies, crop restrictions and planned scarcity are no solution to the chronic illness, they just drug the patient. The sooner that agricultural producers start looking into the real source of their trouble—distribution—and quit talking about "surpluses", the better off they will be, and the nearer the world will be to a standard diet.

## *Too Many Potatoes?*

The weepers have had a wonderful day with potatoes. Pictures of that crop left rotting, dumped on the ground and ploughed under for fertilizer, left to freeze in the fields have horrified a world that looks upon so much starvation. Rightly it should. This is what happened.

Potato growers (along with the producers of some 18 other agricultural products) are operating under a government program which guarantees them a 90% parity price for two years after the war. That promise by the government was given to those farmers who were asked to produce more during the war. They may not plant more acres than during war time, but they may plant as much, and a 90% parity price has been guaranteed for all that is grown.

On the basis of past production, the officials figured out about what acreage would be needed to produce the 375 million bushels of potatoes that it was thought was needed in 1946. The farmers were urged to plant such an acreage. Then perfect weather, improved fertilizers and high-powered insecticides (mostly 2-4-D) got together. The result in potatoes was in the excess of 500 million bushels. The average yield jumped 38 bushels per acre beyond the official estimates. The federal government had to pay out in excess

of \$90 million in support prices. Embarrassed, it offered the potatoes for sale at 5¢ per bushel, and then to any foreign government that would pay for the dehydrating and transportation. But no takers were in sight. It was too late.

The problem still was not a surplus. If it had been known what the yield would be, and plans had been carefully laid, the potatoes could have been used. But the planning was not done, and when it was too late, all that was left to do was to dump millions of bushels out on the ground and turn them back into fertilizer.

## *Farmers and Labor Legislation*

On March 5th a representative of the National Farmers' Union appeared before the Labor and Public Welfare Committee of the Senate. He urged that the restrictive legislation proposed by some members of Congress be toned down. In fact, the Farmers' Union has placed itself solidly on the side of organized labor, a policy quite in opposition to that of the two other major farm groups.

It is interesting that the agricultural body that best supports the interests of organized labor has its strength in the plains states where labor unions are relatively weak. But it is to the credit of the leaders of the Farmers' Union that they take the long view of things, are more interested in seeking socially desirable long-term goals rather than short-term advantage. The Farmers' Union insists that there can be no permanent prosperity for the farmer unless the laboring groups are adequately paid so that they furnish a permanent market for large amounts of agricultural production.

They insist that a millionaire is of no particular advantage to a farmer—his stomach being no larger than that of anyone else. They also know that when the consuming power of labor is cut down the farmer always suffers. Perhaps most clearly among the major farm groups, the leaders of the Farmers' Union see the weakness of our system of distribution and the necessity of producers and consumers getting together for their mutual benefit.

## *Co-ops Becoming Monopolies?*

The activities of some of the producer co-ops are giving both the cooperative movement and the farmer black eyes. When the Dairymen's League Cooperative of New York had a \$25,000 fine slapped on it in addition to a \$1,000 fine levied on each of four of its officials for manipulation of the January, 1947, New York butter market to fix milk prices, the anti-cooperative forces such as the National Tax Equality Association were given a lot of convenient dirt to throw around.

As Miles McMillin pointed out in the *Progressive*, some of the producer co-ops have become adjuncts of monopolistic private interests. The farmers must clean out such unfair and restrictive practices as are in force in many of the producer co-ops, put them back on the road of their original purpose, crack the greedy leadership, open up the co-ops to the multitude of other farmers that want in, and in a general house-cleaning place themselves back in line with their original purpose.

## *REA in Danger*

Along with many other rural agencies, the Rural Electrification Administration is seeking adequate funds to carry on its work. The economy streak in Congress will no doubt slice the agency's appropriation. That is most unfortunate for the cooperative use of electricity by rural

(Continued on page 61)

# Excerpts from the Report of the Executive Secretary Given at the March 17th Executive Committee Meeting

## Post-Evanston Field Trips and Report of Chapter Developments

Intimation has already been given of the earnestness, hard-workingness, and zestful enthusiasm of the delegates at the Evanston meeting. This has been further suggested by a number of post-Evanston developments, which it has been my privilege to observe.

On January 3, the day after the Evanston meeting, a State-wide Minnesota Federation meeting was held in St. Paul and received very fine publicity in the newspapers, as a result primarily of the splendid press relations job done by an active lay member of our St. Paul local chapter. The entire day was devoted to this meeting, participated in by ministerial and lay delegates from both our Minnesota and Northern Minnesota chapters. This gave opportunity for splendid discussion and concrete, satisfactory action on a good number of the social issues facing us today: the anti-labor legislation sponsored by Minnesota's Senator Ball and others, the relationship of the U. S. Senate to Bilbo, the urgent need for a more religiously sound American food plan, calculated to feed those who face starvation and to strengthen rather than undermine genuine international cooperation, etc. Needed action was also taken on behalf of intensive membership drives in both of the Conferences represented.

With reference still to this general mid-West area, encouraging reports have come from the Colorado Conference concerning an aggressive membership expansion drive there and plans for the development of the needed chapter midyear meetings on a regular basis. Other letters have told us of indigenous efforts in Iowa to strengthen our Federation chapters there and to gain many new members.

### *Beginnings of Federation Youth Division*

On Saturday, February 1st, Miss Shippy Sharpnack, a student at Mt. Union College and a new Federation member who had been at the Evanston meeting, spent the day with us in the National Office. She told of the organization under her initiative of a local Federation chapter at Mt. Union, of the growing number of new members there, and of her readiness to travel throughout Ohio and neighboring states in the interest of helping organize new Federation youth units and increasing Federation youth memberships. It has long been our dream to have a strong youth division. It may well be the role of Shippy to add needed flesh and blood to that ideal.

### *Hartford, Conn. Chapter Organized*

On February 2, it was my pleasure to attend a representative and large meeting of ministerial and lay members and friends of the Federation from the Methodist churches of the Hartford area. At this meeting, after adequate discussion, it was voted to organize a Greater Hartford local chapter of the Federation, which it was thought might serve as the basis for the later organization of a Connecticut State Chapter. There is every indication that this chapter will develop a fine program of action, with real impact in that city and state. Thanks are due to Rev. Ed Peet and other friends for making that chapter organization possible. It will surely prove to be one of the finest local chapters in the entire Federation movement. Most of the members of this new local chapter function also in the New York East Conference Chapter, which has developed great vitality during this past year, and has held two splendid and widely attended midyear meetings already, at which fine action on a number of current social issues was taken. This Conference Chapter is now in the midst of a very determined membership drive

and hopes to surpass both the Alabama and California Chapters as the largest chapter in all Methodism.

Mention should be made also of our New York City and Seattle local chapters, both of which have reported splendid post-Evanston meetings, indicating continued vitality and chapter effectiveness.

### *New Baltimore City Chapter*

On February 3 in Baltimore, it was my great joy to participate in a splendid and inclusive meeting of ministerial and lay members and friends of the Federation, called at the initiative of Rev. Elgar Soper, who had attended the Evanston meeting. At that meeting, new Federation members were on the spot, and a Baltimore City Chapter was organized.

That same day in Washington, it was good to meet briefly with some of our Federation chapter members. There is basis for hope that our important Washington City Chapter will be strengthened and activated and thus come to fill a great need in our total Federation life and fellowship.

### *Atlanta Religion and Labor Meeting*

The next two days, February 4 and 5, were devoted mainly to participation in a Southwide Religion and Labor Conference held in Atlanta. It was a splendid conference, attended by some 200 delegates from labor unions and churches, including a number of our Southern Federation chapter leaders. It was possible to meet briefly at least with these Federation members from the Florida, Alabama and South Georgia Conferences—to discuss plans for membership expansion and chapter organization and building in that entire area. Under the initiative of Mrs. Emmett S. Johnson, a fine, informal meeting of friends was also held at Emory University, from which there is hope that there will develop another and an ongoing local Federation chapter within the Glenn Memorial Church at Emory.

On February 6, at Milledgeville, Georgia, I addressed the large student body of Georgia State College for Women and also the Milledgeville Rotary Club. The next day, February 7, I spoke to the student body at Wesleyan College in Macon. In these two colleges, I also met with some of the regular classes. Sunday morning, February 9, I was in my hometown of Quitman, Georgia, and preached in the pulpit of the Methodist Church there. That night, en route back to the National Office, I changed trains in Savannah, Georgia, and was surprised to find myself preaching between trains in the pulpit of Brother George Clary's Methodist Church.

### *Democratic Struggle in Georgia*

Naturally, I used each of these public speaking engagements in my home State of Georgia as occasions for dealing very concretely with the fight then being waged over the so-called "white primary" bill, and with the Christian and democratic implications of that fight. It would surely be unwise to underestimate the strength of anti-democratic forces in any state in our nation today, including Georgia. But from what I saw in this week there, I am thoroughly convinced that the overwhelming majority of white, as well as Negro, citizens are on the democratic side, and in favor of progressing aggressively towards true brotherhood. The hearings on the white primary bill held in the State Senate Chamber proved convincingly that it is possible to mobilize far more numerous and vigorous voices on behalf of democratic brotherhood than can be mobilized on the anti-demo-

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eratic and unbrotherly side. The story of the fight in Georgia against the white primary bill is one of the most thrilling episodes in the entire democratic struggle of our times. We have read of the dramatic mass demonstration, led by students, on the Capitol grounds, in opposition to the Talmadge clique. There is a fighting democratic spirit among students and young veterans in Georgia today, which could not be matched in any earlier period. If this fighting spirit can be kept alive, there is reason for high hope as to the Georgia of the future. We should say here that our Methodist Federation youth members in Georgia played a basic role in initiating and developing the mass demonstration on the Capitol grounds. Federation members and friends were also among those participating in the hearings on the primary bill, which developed into a decisive demonstration of mass opposition to the bill. It is true that the bill passed the State Legislature as had been fully expected, but it would be fundamentally unsound to conclude that this represents in any sense an expression of the will of the people of Georgia, either white or Negro. Nor should we fatalistically conclude that the final and ultimate victory has yet been won in this significant democratic struggle. In Georgia, also, I had first-hand evidence of the major leadership being taken by Protestant ministers scattered over the State and by Protestant lay-women. Yes, democratic and truly religious forces are on the move and the march in Georgia. It is my firm conviction that they will continue to march, increasing numbers of them within the ranks of the Methodist Federation, until the dawn of a new and more brotherly day has arrived. In the battle for full democracy and inclusive brotherhood, we have great and potent allies in the South, to which we can look with confidence for continued, major and growing Federation leadership.

Coming back from Georgia through Baltimore, I stopped in that city to meet with a committee of our new city chapter, through which plans were developed for the first regular chapter meeting, at which it was hoped that action would be taken on behalf of vital state legislation to raise the age for compulsory school attendance and to complete the elimination of Jim Crow in transportation.

*Philadelphia Chapter Started*

On February 17, I was invited to address the Philadelphia Methodist preachers meeting, which meeting unanimously voted in favor of the organization of a Philadelphia City Federation Chapter. It is good, indeed, to report that that chapter has now been organized and its officers elected. It is grand to have a definite local chapter in this historic City of Brotherly Love.

*Pittsburgh Economic Conference Inadequate*

February 18 through 20, I served as one of the Methodist delegates in Pittsburgh at the Federal Council Conference on the Church and Economic Life. The Pittsburgh meeting brought opportunity for splendid and profitable fellowship. But it would be hard to contend that the Conference produced anything like a penetrating, concrete analysis of the basic economic problems confronting us today. One would look with even less fruit for a specific program with which

to meet and solve our contemporary and burning economic problems. It cannot be seriously claimed that we had at Pittsburgh another Malvern. It is necessary for me to say, with a number of the other delegates whose convictions I learned, that the world and the Church of our day of acute suffering and profound crisis, need a clearer and more certain word than that which has come from the Pittsburgh Conference. One is reminded of the appropriate words of Paul: "For if the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself for the battle?" (I Corinthians 14:8)

It was good at Pittsburgh to meet with Federation members in a special luncheon meeting. A fine group of Federationists was able to get together, and much enthusiastic loyalty was expressed in testimony fashion for the Federation and its program. For these Federationists, at least, the inadequacy of the Pittsburgh Conference had served to underscore the values of the more incisive type of action and fellowship possible in a spearhead movement such as the Federation.

*Pittsburgh Chapter Initiated*

On the following day, February 21 in Pittsburgh, a special meeting was called by Rev. Dr. Fowler, of the Pittsburgh Conference Social Service Commission. The meeting was called on behalf of the Federation, and a definite Pittsburgh Federation Chapter was there initiated. This action was most heartening, and I am confident that this new Pittsburgh local Federation chapter will provide great leadership for our total national movement in the days ahead.

That night, in New Wilmington, Pennsylvania, in a meeting arranged by an active Federation layman, Harold Burns, a motion was passed in favor of organizing a Grove City District of the Federation. It was agreed to seek 100 voting members of the Federation in this Grove City District Chapter, to be part of the Erie Conference Chapter. Realization of this splendid goal would constitute the greatest achievement in membership expansion in Federation history.

It was a joy on February 22, to participate in a Methodist Youth Rally in New Britain, Connecticut. One saw here evidence of the high significance of the social conscience of Methodist youth and of the great potential Federation membership and leadership from this group.

On February 24 an all-day conference was held with preachers in the western end of the Troy Conference, called by the Social Service Commission of that Conference. It was a most enjoyable and profitable opportunity for digging as a group into the major economic and international issues facing us today. There is evidence that new friends and members were won for the Federation; and plans have already been made for using the coming Troy Annual Conference as an occasion for really developing a solid and active Federation Conference Chapter.

On February 26, there was a visit on the campus of the Yale Divinity School in New Haven, Connecticut, with students interested in the Federation and in the religion and labor movement. Some new Federation memberships were secured, the conviction was deepened that more can and must be done to win those training for the ministry to responsible participation in the Federation movement. J. R. M.

**PLEASE!**

This is no time to curtail the activities of the Federation, but UNLESS our delinquent members pay up and UNLESS our more opulent members and friends (anyone with an income of over \$1200 per year) increase their contributions AT ONCE we will be forced to cut our present office staff and seriously limit our present program.

# Social Issues in Today's World

## The General Welfare

At its Annual Trustees' meeting, held at the Hotel Pennsylvania in New York City recently, the Church Peace Union elected new officers and announced plans for a World Congress of Religion to be held in the fall of 1948 in the United States.

When Dr. William Pierson Merrill, minister emeritus of the Brick Presbyterian Church in New York City and President of the Church Peace Union for thirty years, declined renomination, the trustees unanimously elected Dr. Ralph W. Sockman, minister of Christ Church (Methodist) in New York City and well-known radio preacher, as President of the Board of Trustees. The Board passed a resolution praising Dr. Merrill for his long and devoted service to the organization and congratulated him upon his recently celebrated 80th birthday. Dr. Merrill will continue as a Trustee.

Two new Trustees were chosen: Dr. Herbert C. F. Bell, professor of history at Wesleyan College, Middletown, Conn., and Mr. Henry Monsky, prominent attorney of Omaha, Nebraska, President of B'nai Brith, and co-chairman of the American Jewish Conference.

Plans were announced for a World Congress of Religion in support of the United Nations scheduled to be held in October 1948 in the U.S. Dr. Ralph W. Sockman, newly-elected President of the Church Peace Union, will be chairman of the International Committee on Arrangements for the World Congress of Religion, which will bring together leaders of all faiths to form a world-wide alliance to support the United Nations in promoting peace and in support of measures for international security against aggressive war.

## International Relations

**REPORTS BY THE INDONESIAN REPUBLICAN RADIO** contend that many young men from Burma are offering their help to the Viet Nam military forces fighting against the French. These stories indicate that the Viet Namese are doing their best to arouse all Asiatics to their cause. For example, the Viet Nam newspaper Thet Lua declares that the Burmese volunteers have come because the French "are trying to suppress us, the big family of Asia."

The Malayan Youth Federation, which worked to aid the Indonesian republic, has voted to extend its help to Viet Nam, stating in an official resolution that "the Viet Namese in their struggle constitute a backing for other peoples in staying off imperialism." While much of the leadership in the Burmese and Malayan youth groups can be traced to Communist influences, many non-Communist young people are cooperating.

**AN APPEAL ON BEHALF OF 217 INDONESIAN SEAMEN** facing deportation on March 5th was made by representatives of four American organizations in an interview with Assistant Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization Joseph Savoretti, in Philadelphia, it was made public today by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

The delegation urged that the 217 Indonesian seamen be sent to the port of Cheribon, which is in the hands of the Indonesian Republic, instead of being sent as scheduled to the port of Batavia, which is in the hands of Dutch government troops.

The delegation, in its interview with Assistant Commissioner Savoretti, emphasized that the 217 Indonesian seamen face persecution by the Dutch because of their action in refusing to man Dutch ships in November 1945. The delegation included representatives of the National Lawyers

Guild, the National Maritime Union, the American Committee for Indonesian Independence, and the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

The 217 Indonesian seamen refused to man Dutch ships in November 1945 because the ships were taking supplies and soldiers to murder their families in Indonesia. They surrendered at Ellis Island for deportation in December 1945 but their deportation has been prevented by appeals to the Federal courts. Last month, the United States Supreme Court refused to intervene in the cases and the Government proceeded with its arrangements to deport the 217 Indonesian seamen.

**DR. MARK A. DAWBER, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF THE HOME MISSIONS COUNCIL** of North America, recently announced his resignation from the Commission on the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace of the Federal Council of Churches in protest over the continued chairing of the commission by John Foster Dulles.

Dr. Dawber said that he felt that the part played by the Dulles law firm in investing funds of which it was trustee in the rearmament of Germany during the period between the two World Wars disqualified Mr. Dulles from occupying such a position in the Federal Council.

**COSTA RICAN WOMEN AND FARM LEADERS** are pushing a campaign against a contemplated government purchase of arms from the United States. The effort was initiated last fall when a number of distinguished women, headed by Senora Carmen Nieto de Madrigal as president, organized a branch of the Woman's International League for Peace and Freedom, and issued an appeal to the authorities. They declared that the importation of more arms would be a heavy expense for the nation's economy, was needless, and ran counter to moves being started, internationally, looking toward eventual reduction of armaments. The Secretary of Public Security, General Rene Picado, replied with a promise to give the protest serious consideration.

**OF INTEREST TO CHURCH MEMBERS** and all persons concerned with the status of the church in the Soviet Union is the pamphlet "An American Churchman in the Soviet Union" (American-Russian Institute) by Dr. Louie D. Newton, President of the Southern Baptist Convention. Dr. Newton, who visited Soviet Russia with six other Americans at the invitation of the Soviet Red Cross, has written an interesting and informative report of his experiences.

Regarding his freedom of movement during the visit, Dr. Newton says: "we were free to ask what we wished to ask and to see what we wished to see and to go where we wished to go, without any restrictions whatsoever. If there could have been any freer movement on the part of seven visitors in any country, I would not be able to suggest it."

## Race Relations

**A RECENT STATEMENT BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA** has come from Johannesburg and reflects the attitude of leaders in both clergy and laity among liberal religionists, in sharp contrast to the attitude of such men as Premier Jan Christian Smuts. It is obvious from the statement that Premier Smuts did not present to the United Nations Assembly the view of all South African whites. This warning and appeal, couched in moderate language and characterized by discernment and restraint, is reported by *Worldover Press*.

**THE REV. JOSEPH A. RABUN, PASTOR OF THE McRAE BAPTIST CHURCH** of Atlanta, Georgia, of which the late Governor Eugene Talmadge was a member, recently made a courageous statement before the Senate Judiciary Committee of that state in which, speaking as an ex-chaplain, he denounced the "white supremacy" primary bill then before the Georgia legislature and stated that he recognized no supremacy except that of Almighty God.

The Rev. Mr. Rabun took the precaution to resign from his pulpit before making his statement, but we do not know whether or not the resignation was accepted.

**ARCHBISHOP MCINTYRE OF THE CATHOLIC ARCH-DIOCESE OF NEW YORK** made a statement early in March which effectively killed the Austin-Mahoney bill, then before the state assembly. The bill, which was supported by many liberal groups in the state, would have prohibited discrimination in the schools of New York.

The Arch-bishop denounced the bill as "communistic" in that it held education to be a legitimate function of the state. Education, said the Catholic prelate, is not a function of the state but of the parents.

### The Cooperative Movement

**AS A RESULT OF PROTESTS** to the Mutual Broadcasting System regarding the obvious mis-statements by Fulton Lewis, Jr. in his recent series of broadcasts regarding cooperatives, the Mutual System has allotted time for the cooperatives to present their side of the picture.

Beginning on Monday, March 3 and extending through March 6, Arthur Gaeth, well-known commentator for Mutual, broadcast a series of programs explaining and illustrating the cooperative idea. A number of cooperative leaders appeared on the program with him.

### Labor Concern

**A NEW BILL** was quietly introduced into the Senate recently by Senator George D. Aiken, liberal Republican from Vermont, as a substitute measure for the Fulbright-Taft Bill which met with strong opposition from labor and liberal organizations.

Both bills seek to give the Federal Security Agency with its many government health functions, Cabinet status. The Fulbright-Taft Bill (S.140) however, created considerable stir of opposition from labor circles because of several seriously objectionable provisions "which clearly seem to indicate a concerted effort to give professional interests undue influence in the policy-making functions of the Proposed Department", according to Joseph H. Loucheim, executive director of the Committee for the Nation's Health.

The Aiken Bill (S.712), on the other hand, is a short, straight-forward Bill giving the Federal Security Administration Cabinet status with a Secretary, an Under-Secretary, and two Assistant Secretaries. It does not arbitrarily lay down working rules, or specify any unnecessary changes in the administration of the Department or its policies.

### Rural

(Continued from page 57)

people, but worse than just a restriction of the present program is a direct threat to its usefulness.

Loans by the REA are usually made (90% of the funds are so used) to rural co-ops for building lines, power being purchased by the co-ops from the established utilities. But there has always been the possibility that a loan could be made to set up production facilities in a given area. That has served to keep rates pretty much in line. Now the proposal of some is to strip REA of that power, allowing loans only for lines, not production. Such a course would of course put the rural electrification co-ops at the mercy of the utilities.

## Federation Activities and Reports

**THE NEW YORK CITY CHAPTER OF THE MFSA** met at Sloane House YMCA, New York, at 6:30 P.M. on Feb. 17 for a supper meeting. About forty were in attendance.

Dr. Harry F. Ward, former Executive Secretary of the Federation, addressed the meeting on the subject "Religion in a Changing World". Following a lengthy discussion period, action was taken commending the New York Herald-Tribune for publishing an article by Walter White on the NAACP and the International Latex Corporation for suing Westbrook Pegler and the Hearst Chicago-American for libel. Pegler had called the President of International Latex "communistic".

Rev. Alson J. Smith, President of the New York City Chapter, presided.

**THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE NEW YORK EAST CONFERENCE CHAPTER** met at Newfield Methodist Church, Bridgeport, Conn. on March 3 to lay plans for a membership drive within the conference as its share in achieving the 10,000 total membership set by the Evanston Conference as a goal for the current year.

The ladies of the church, under the direction of Mrs. Edgar Jackson, wife of the pastor, served the executive committee members a delicious antipasto and spaghetti lunch.

The next meeting of the committee will be at Stamford on April 14 when plans will be made for the Annual Conference Social Service banquet on May 15th which will be addressed by Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam.

**A PHILADELPHIA CONFERENCE CHAPTER OF THE MFSA** was organized at a meeting held in the Wesley Building, Philadelphia, on March 3. Twenty-one men were present. The Rev. Howard Slider presided, and the Rev. James Miller of Wyncoate Presbyterian Church spoke to the group on the philosophy of Protestant social action.

The following officers were elected: President, Rev. Jack Reitz; Vice-President, Rev. Henry Nichols; Treasurer, Rev. Roy L. Codrey; Secretary, Rev. Henry Brettle.

It was decided to hold bimonthly meetings in the evening.

### Tax

(Continued from page 52)

And more important, even, than the big firms are the many small, town and open country co-ops, the creameries, oil stations, groceries, farm machinery buying pools, cheese factories, etc. It is possible to discover communities hard hit by drought or depression that have been given a new lease on life by the co-ops which sprang up as the people struggled with their problems. Economic conditions have been weighted against the farmer in such wise that the tenancy rate has risen steadily, decade by decade, until 42% of our farms are now worked by tenants. No one in close touch with the situation thinks that is good. Few factors have done as much to give the farmer a break as have the co-ops, and no factor holds more hope for the future. Destruction or crippling of the co-op movement will be a blow at the rural life of this country.

It is unlikely that the NTEA will finally carry its program, although the danger is real. Whether they carry it or not, the men behind the organization are doing the co-ops real harm by the spreading of half-truths and misleading propaganda, by the sowing of suspicion among town and city people. They will add to the already great antipathy between farmers and labor, and just at the moment when the labor unions are beginning to show the greatest interest in the co-op movement. They may gain their ends in this fashion even if they fail their legislative program. That is a danger we must avoid at all costs.

## The Federation Mailbag

Emory University,  
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. MacMichael:

It might interest you to know that Methodist students at Emory were largely responsible for the success of the Student March on the capitol recently. Margaret Lilly, a religious education student in Theology School was secretary for the group that organized and planned the drive. The plan was announced in our Student Movement morning and evening meetings and personal contact resulted in a large group from Emory participating. (At least 500 of the 1500 students in the college.)

Every comment I've heard on the demonstration has been favorable. Since the committee plans to continue as an advisory citizenship committee I feel that the present crisis may help to wake up students to social and political issues in general. Efforts are continuing to get students to write their representatives.

Who knows, it may be that we have the seeds of a southern liberal party, the only real cure to such problems.

Sincerely,  
George Roper

Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. MacMichael:

Today I received from Dr. John Q. Schisler a copy of an article written by the Rev. Lawrence Neff, Local Preacher of the North Georgia Conference, on the general subject, "How Honest Are Preachers?" I understand that this was taken from the publication *Brothers*, which is issued periodically by Mr. Neff.

Charges are made not only against North and South Georgia ministers but against one of the Bishops. It seems that these charges should have been submitted to a Committee of each Annual Conference and that publicity of the kind set forth in this article is both unwise and unChristian. The 13th chapter of First Corinthians is a very good one to read before making public charges that will be harmful to ministers and to the church. Of course Mr. Neff had the right to print the article, if he is willing to take the consequences. I do not think, however, that it should have appeared in your publication.

With assurance of my friendship and best wishes, I am,  
Cordially yours,  
Wm. F. Quillian

(ED. NOTE: Mr. Neff's article was printed because it was sure to get a reaction. It did! However, "charges" is a pretty strong word to use to describe what he said about the Georgia brethren. Pointed comment, perhaps, but hardly *charges*. We hope to print an article by another printer who deals almost exclusively with preachers and who had quite the opposite experience in a forthcoming issue.)

Iowa City, Iowa

Dear Mr. MacMichael:

You are right in having heard that I intend to take an offering for the Federation in connection with our Holy Week communion service. Usually that offering goes to some field of deep human need that is acute at the moment. However, I reasoned this way—the work which the Federation is doing to build a just world will eliminate those areas of human need when the gospel which they preach has been actually applied. An ounce of prevention will be worth a pound of cure. I am all for the ounce of prevention. I also hope that other churches will form a habit of taking at least one collection a year for the Federation.

Cordially,  
Lewis L. Dunnington

Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Mr. Smith:

I frequently find much of interest in your publication. This time I was surprised to discover that in the article by Bishop

Charles Brashares, in the February issue, a generalization on discriminatory practices is made that misrepresents at least the position and practice of our own church.

The statement is that "Methodism is the only world-Protestant Church with racial equality in its legislative assemblies. Other Protestant denominations may have inter-racial mass meetings to which national bodies send representatives for fellowship, but in Methodism the races stand on equal footing in the General Conference session where the voting is done and the laws are made."

Each year the Commissioners to our Presbyterian General Assembly, the highest judicatory in the denomination, include a large number of Negro ministers and leaders, many representing predominantly white Presbyteries. They vote and serve on committees and are usually housed in hotels without regard to race.

All of our 40 Synods, except four, and all of our 267 Presbyteries, except for nine, are non-segregated. Negro ministers have many times been elected moderator of predominantly white Presbyteries. This has occurred twice within the past year in border states—Baltimore and Louisville Presbyteries.

I am sure you will be interested to have the facts in this matter.

With sincere good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,  
Paul Newton Poling,  
Secretary to the Division of Social Action,  
Board of Christian Education,  
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

Canton, Ohio

Dear Sirs:

Sometime ago I received a letter from you containing several documents concerning the status of conscientious objectors in the U.S. I thought that they were very much to the point. During my stay in CPS I became acquainted with some of the Methodist principles and admired your stand on racial and religious questions. While in Tallahassee, Florida, many Sunday mornings found me at the Sunday School conducted by the Methodist Student House across from the campus of the Florida State College for Women. Even in Florida the Methodist girls were very much aware of the racial problems that confronted them.

Before I was drafted and went to CPS I had worked 18 years in the U.S. Post-Office here at Canton, Ohio. When I left for camp the postmaster here suggested that my job would be waiting for me when I returned. While I was in camp, the P.O. Department made a ruling that men who went to CPS in lieu of military service were dropped from employment.

When I came back the postmaster refused to recommend my reinstatement, and the P.O. Department refused to do anything unless the postmaster asked for reinstatement. The postmaster says that the department refers the person to the postmaster and then tells the postmaster not to rehire them.

It seems to me that this ruling by the P.O. Department is a clear case of discrimination because of religious belief. It also seems to me that from answers that I have received that most people in authority are afraid to do anything about it because of their own influence. Perhaps if publicity could be given to such conditions and the proper people know about it, Gen. Hershey's strategy of silence concerning the C.O. could be defeated. Most of the people—veterans and otherwise—are surprised at the attitude of the government when I tell them the situation and some wonder out loud what they were fighting for.

I am certainly glad to have been included on your mailing list and would like to hear from you.

Sincerely,  
Paul K. Baker

New Haven, Conn.

Dear Mr. MacMichael:

In these days, each of us ought to witness to the tremendous vitality we have felt in the Federation as we have seen it at work in various parts of the country.

This is especially true in my experience in the South.

Cordially yours,  
Willard Uphaus, Executive Secretary,  
Religion and Labor Foundation.

## Books and Pamphlets

Duvall, Sylvanus M.: *War and Human Nature*. Pamphlet No. 125 of the Public Affairs Committee Series. Published Feb. 1947 at 22 E. 38th St. N. Y. 16. Price 10 cents.

In challenging the belief that there will always be war because it is human nature to fight, Sylvanus M. Duvall declares, in *War and Human Nature*, a 32-page Public Affairs pamphlet published recently, that "we could, by proper and intelligent control, make peace as natural as war."

While it is natural for some people to be warlike, he points out, they were not born that way. They have learned to be like that.

In presenting the psychologists' approach to the question of war and peace, the pamphlet states that the first essential for any effective program for world peace is a thorough understanding of human nature and its relationship to war and peace. Peace groups and peace plans have failed in the past because the people who want peace have not understood why we have war and have not used the scientific knowledge of human nature that is already available to us.

We have been making a lot of wrong assumptions, Dr. Duvall believes, like thinking that "injustice" causes war, or that the "have-nots" are always the aggressors.

"It is the malcontents, those who are psychologically disturbed within themselves, who are the war-makers. People are most warlike and aggressive when (1) the social and economic relationships of life have been disrupted so that people feel bewildered, confused, uncertain, and insecure; and when (2) people are frustrated."

"Frustrated people," the pamphlet points out, "tend to blame their troubles on somebody else. Usually they do not know that the difficulty is really with their own inner conflicts. So naturally they blame others and feel hostile and resentful. This resentment is the soil in which grows the will to war. . . . If enough people are sufficiently frustrated and if they can be persuaded to blame things upon some one group—as the German people were persuaded by Hitler—the result may be war."

If we are to have world peace, Dr. Duvall assures us that we must solve three problems:

- (1) Reduce the amount of frustration in the world;
- (2) Develop social standards of success that most people are capable of reaching; and

- (3) Make sure that the goals for which people strive are safe for others.

*War and Human Nature*, by Sylvanus M. Duvall, is the first of a new series of Public Affairs Pamphlets dealing with international affairs. The Public Affairs Committee feels that there is a great need for brief, simple, yet authoritative publications in the field of international relations such as have been provided by the Public Affairs Pamphlets in the domestic field for the past eleven years.

Yahraes, Herbert: *Rheumatic Fever—Childhood's Greatest Enemy*. Pamphlet No. 126 in the Public Affairs Committee Series. Published Feb. 1947 at 22 E. 38th St., N. Y. 16. Price 10 cents.

In observance of National Heart Week, the Public Affairs Committee, Inc., has issued *Rheumatic Fever—Childhood's Greatest Enemy*, by Herbert Yahraes, the most comprehensive and readable pamphlet yet written on the disease that cripples and destroys more children of school age than any other disease, and that affects more than a million persons, young and old, in the United States.

"This booklet," according to Dr. David D. Rutstein, Medical Director of the American Heart Association, "represents a major step forward in bringing the essential facts concerning rheumatic fever before the American public. Rheumatic fever and rheumatic heart disease constitute one of our country's most pressing public health problems. Science is making progress in combating this disease which takes so many young lives and which attacked more than 40,000 members of the armed forces during World War II. It is the responsibility of every citizen to know the facts about rheumatic fever and to understand the tremendous need for community rheumatic fever programs in order to bring available knowledge within the reach of all sufferers from the disease."

The 32-page, illustrated Public Affairs Pamphlet contains all

"the essential facts concerning rheumatic fever" and points to the need for community action on a broad scale. It was prepared by the Public Affairs Committee in cooperation with the American Council on Rheumatic Fever of the American Heart Association in order to provide needed public information on the disease as background for National Heart Week. The United States Junior Chamber of Commerce, the American Legion, Rotary International, Kiwanis International, and other organizations are cooperating in the national effort to stimulate public interest in the problems of heart disease, the greatest cause of death in the United States.

"Diagnosis of rheumatic fever is so difficult and treatment so complex and expensive," the pamphlet declares, "that medical men who have studied the disease most carefully say it can be fought successfully only by a public health program like the one that has been waged successfully against tuberculosis."

"Many different services are needed by the average rheumatic fever family," Mr. Yahraes points out, "and ideally they should be available in every community. They would be brought together by some central agency, perhaps the Department of Health, which would keep a register of cases as they were reported by private and school doctors and by welfare workers, and also a record of all the community facilities that might be of assistance."

"Within the last decade," according to the pamphlet, "considerable progress has been made in working out cooperation between the federal and state governments for financing public programs for the care of RF children. Federal money for that purpose was first set aside in 1939, when Congress authorized the Children's Bureau to include rheumatic children in the crippled children's program. This is financed by the national government under the special grant-in-aid provisions of the Social Security Act."

"The first joint federal-state program—Oklahoma's—was approved by the Children's Bureau in 1940. By 1947 there were twenty such programs, and a dozen others were being planned."

The London County Council's Rheumatism Scheme, which got under way in 1926, is described in the pamphlet as an example of a successful community plan. As a result of this cooperative effort in England by school and health authorities, by private and by public institutions, the incidence of acquired heart disease among London school children dropped from 2 per cent to 0.8 per cent in ten years, and there was a considerable decrease in the number of chronic cardiac invalids. In carrying out this scheme, London provided one hospital bed for every 550 school children. The ratio in New York City is only a fourth or fifth as high.

## Plan of Episcopal Visitation—Spring Conferences 1947

### Northeastern Jurisdiction

Baltimore, May 29, Westminster, Md., Flint

Central New York, May 21, Elmira: Centenary, Ledden

Central Pennsylvania, April 16, Harrisburg: Fifth St., Flint

Genesee, June 4, Rochester, N. Y.: Asbury-First, Ledden

Maine, April 24, Portland: Clark Memorial, Hartman

Newark, June 11, Referred, Oxnam

New England, May 14, Brookline, Mass.: St. Marks', Hartman

New England Southern, June 4, Newport, R. I.: St. Paul's, Hartman

New Hampshire, April 16, Lawrence, Mass.: Central, Hartman

New York, May 22, Poughkeepsie: Washington Street, Oxnam

New York East, May 15, Brooklyn: Hanson Place-Central, Oxnam

Northern New York, May 14, Utica: Central, Ledden

Peninsula, May 14, Wilmington, Del.: McCabe, Flint

Philadelphia, May 14, Philadelphia, Pa.: Arch Street, Corson

Puerto Rico Provisional, Feb. 19, Ponce, Puerto Rico, Flint

Troy, April 17, Saratoga Springs, N. Y., Oxnam

Wyoming, April 9, Endicott, N. Y.: First, Corson

Speak the truth but leave right after.

Yugoslav proverb

# Report of the Commission on Rural Community and Organized Labor

DR. D. E. LINDSTROM, *Chairman*

WHEREAS, the interests of the American trade-unions and the farming population are interdependent to the extent that the unions cannot achieve their economic goals without the support of the farmers, and

WHEREAS, no substantial improvement in the political status of industrial workers is possible without understanding and support of their cause by the rural populations, and

WHEREAS, major issues confronting the American people are similar, whether they live in urban or rural communities, whether they earn their livelihoods in the mines, factories, etc., or on the farms of the nation, and

WHEREAS, the cause of the progressive, religious, political and economic movement cannot become a reality until the common man in agriculture and the common man in industry join hands, be it

RESOLVED, that the Methodist Federation for Social Service stimulate and participate in a nation-wide drive to develop and improve the existing relations between farmers and industrial workers enabling them to achieve more fully their mutual economic goals of security and peace as vital steps in realizing the Kingdom of God., be it further

RESOLVED, that this course of action be implemented in the following manner:

1. By a thorough program of dissemination of knowledge to both labor and farm groups for their mutual enlightenment relative to their respective aims and purposes,

- a. Through popular, church-sponsored forums and panels with speakers representing public, labor and farm interests.
- b. Through caravans of farmers and young people from rural areas visiting and consulting with organized labor leaders.
- c. Through the use of organized labor and farm organization representatives as speakers, in panels, and forums at summer youth institutes, and
- d. Through the provision in our theological seminaries of opportunities for students to become better informed in the field of farm and labor organizations.

2. By a thorough study of cooperative ownership of farm machinery that all farmers may have access to the implements of farming:

- a. Through the church press, daily and weekly newspapers and farm journals.

3. By including a full rural program in the legislative recommendations of the Methodist Federation for Social Service for the 80th Congress, specifically:

- a. Guaranteed floor under farm prices of at least 90 per cent of parity.
- b. Continue low-interest government loans to family-type farmers.
- c. Expansion of rural electrification, telephone, road-building, health, welfare and cultural programs that the good things of life might be enjoyed by all alike.
- d. Support of river valley development projects for power, irrigation, conservation, flood control and general improvements for the rural population according to the successful TVA pattern.
- e. Demands for legislation to curb the alarming expansion of large scale and corporation-farm systems and protect the family-type farmer who represents a substantial percentage of the American population.

Report adopted by the Annual Meeting, Methodist Federation for Social Service, held at Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill., December 31-January 2, 1947.

giving our Government to give full support to the original program of the International Food and Agriculture Organization, consisting of 49 nations, undertaken at the Copenhagen meeting in August, which contemplated a world program to seek a methodical solution for the age-old problem of reconciling hunger and surpluses, the specific objectives of the program being:

- a. To improve the level of nutrition and standard of living of all people;
- b. To improve the efficiency of agricultural production and distribution;
- c. To better the condition of the rural population of the world;
- d. To stabilize the prices of agricultural commodities on the world market;
- e. To establish a world food reserve adequate for any emergency that might arise through the failure of crops;
- f. To provide funds for financing the distribution of surplus agricultural crops.

## THE TRUE NATURE OF PRAYER

Once we grasp the true nature of prayer, the difficulties which are so often urged against the practice of intercession are seen to be entirely irrelevant. Knowing all human life to be one; knowing ourselves to be vitally and indissolubly knit to our brethren in God; knowing that He sees mankind as living in relations of mutual interdependence, united by their common response to Eternal Love, intercession becomes a vital necessity. We see our mutual interdependence broken, because of the failure of so many to respond to the love of God and take their place in His family; and the love of Christ constrains us to take His way of reaching these estranged ones—the way of self-oblation on their behalf.

—E. Herman, in "Creative Prayer"

## MOVIE OF THE MONTH

"Boomerang". With Dana Andrews, Jane Wyatt, and Lee J. Cobb. Produced by 20th Century-Fox. Directed by Elia Kazan. Seen at Roxy Theatre, N. Y.

Like "13 Rue Madeleine", Louis de Rochemont's other recent picture for 20th Century-Fox, this is a half-true story told in documentary style with the professional cast supplemented by local talent. "Boomerang", like "13", was filmed in the locale where the action of the story takes place—in this case, Connecticut. The two pictures together represent a small but significant swing away from the Hollywood set and in the direction of realism.

And "Boomerang" tells a story with social significance—the story of how an honest state's attorney refuses to advance his chances for the governorship by convicting a man of murder when he doubts the man's actual guilt. The story is based on fact—the murder of a Bridgeport, Conn. priest on a street corner about twenty years ago, the arrest of a suspect with overwhelming circumstantial evidence against him, and the final acquittal of that suspect when the state's attorney, having proved him guilty, turned around the next day in court and proved him innocent. The state's attorney was Homer Cummings, Fairfield County prosecutor who later became Attorney-General of the United States.

It's an absorbing tale with a new twist, played to the hilt. See it.